1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

compose most of the population of the Recôncavo today. In 1940 the population of the Centro-Litoral of Bahia--the census area most closely corresponding to the Recôncavo--had the following composition: white, 22 per cent; black, 29 per cent; and others, predominately mulatto, 49 per cent.[12]

The purchase of large quantities of slaves required the production of a commodity which could be used as exchange in Africa. The indigenous tobacco proved eminently suitable for this purpose. Although rum apparently was used also in this trade, tobacco became the essential source of exchange for the slave traffic.[13] Bahia was the main area of tobacco production, and probably most of this production was localized in the Recôncavo.[14]

The initial period of settlement saw also the incorporation of manioc[15] into the agricultural economy as a staple. Like tobacco, it was an indigenous crop. Thus one indigenous crop was adopted to purchase slaves in Africa and another to feed them in Brazil. By 1587 manioc apparently was being cultivated on a moderate scale in Bahia.[16] A recurring theme in the history of the Recôncavo is the shortage of this essential foodstuff.

In addition to the principal crops--sugar, tobacco, and manioc--a number of lesser agricultural products were important in the early history of the Recôncavo. Corn, beans, and bananas were grown on a small scale and used to supplement the manioc diet. Other diversifications of the diet were provided by meat and fish. Cattle were maintained to draw the ox carts and to power many of the cane mills. For lighter tasks asses and mules were used.

Out of this complex of Portuguese settlers and Negro slaves, of old world and new world crops, there developed certain characteristic agricultural enterprises. The engenho--old world in the origin of its

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175 231 After they had recuperated from the long drives, the cattle were used for both labor and food.

175 433 439 171 The colonial economy developed in the Recôncavo--in common with Pernambuco, Campinas (Rio de Janeiro), and lesser centers like Sergipe and Alagoas--was distinct from the economy of the south of Brazil. São Paulo, for example, was self-sufficient, buying little from abroad and having little to sell. Bahia and Pernambuco were almost completely dependent upon exchange with European markets, with Portugal acting as the middleman.

175 249 439 Economic Development from 1600 to 1850. By the middle of the seventeenth century most of the institutions discussed above existed in at least rudimentary form. They were nurtured by an expanding Brazilian commercial economy which enjoyed, for the moment, a virtual monopoly in sugar. Bahia was the leading province in Brazil in the export of both sugar and tobacco.[23] The production of these crops was centered almost entirely in the Recôncavo area of the state. The [567] tobacco was sent at first to Africa, in exchange for increasingly large numbers of slaves for the ever-greedy sugar industry. Slowly, however, a secondary market for Bahia tobacco developed in Europe. With few exceptions the sugar was marketed in Europe and at a high price. The engenhos of Bahia were the largest in Brazil, though still very small by modern standards.[24]

175 648 The development of the colony did not proceed smoothly. In the mid-seventeenth century Bahia was occupied for a brief period by the Dutch, but the development of the colony faltered only momentarily. On the other hand, the Dutch occupied Pernambuco and the north coast for a longer period. The subsequent transference of Dutch efforts to the West Indies was to have a profound effect upon the future of

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175 the Recôncavo, for they took with them a newly acquired knowledge of
648 sugar cane cultivation.

175 The eighteenth century opened with a series of disasters for
167 the region. When word of gold discoveries in Minas Gerais (1704)
567 reached Bahia, an exodus began.[25] Slaves were sold at exorbitant prices, and often masters and slaves together went off to the mines. The colonial authorities took drastic steps to halt the flight, but
[731] to no avail. The first quarter of the century ended with floods in the Recôncavo and the discovery of diamonds in the interior. There was a second exodus.[26]

175 In the meantime there were momentous developments in the
171 West Indies. Sugar cane cultivation spread rapidly in the Antilles
249 as the Netherlands and other northwestern European states which had been lucrative markets for Brazilian sugar began their own production in their respective West Indian colonies. In addition to the protected markets which the mother countries afforded, these new centers enjoyed sound economic and geographical advantages. As newcomers to the field of sugar production, the Antilles were free of both the antiquated equipment and the backward techniques which burdened Brazil, and they were closer to the major European markets.[27]

175 The Recôncavo was unable to counter these West Indian develop-
178 ments. In a century and a half of commercial development there had
185 been few improvements in agricultural or industrial methods. There
249 was no conservation of the soil. Only one variety of cane was known, and there was no attempt to develop improved strains. The mills continued to burn expensive wood rather than to use bagasse. Antique, low-yielding crushing mills continued to be used for extraction.[28]

175 At the end of the eighteenth century, however, developments
249 abroad restored to the Recôncavo and to Brazil many of the advantages
178 which it had formerly held in the international market. This
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175 inaugurated a brief "golden age" in the evolution of the Recôncavo.
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439 The mythology which this age engendered is an integral part of the social and economic patterns in the present day Recôncavo. The collapse of the sugar economy in the West Indies, particularly in Santo Domingo in 1792, and the expanding urban markets in Europe had given, for a moment, a great opportunity to the sugar industry of Northeast Brazil. Moreover, an important supplementary market had developed in the mining areas of Minas Gerais. In the subsequent economic expansion to supply these markets, the Recôncavo became an even more important center of sugar production in Brazil.

175 The landed proprietors of the Recôncavo apparently took this
249 resurgence as a vindication of their economic system.
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> They squandered money like the fidalgos [landed, slave-holding aristocrats] that they were. They installed sumptuous dwellings and lived the life of a nobility. Each sugar factory was a community where hundreds of slaves were dedicated to extraction of wealth from the soil. Each of these communities achieved a merited importance. A little Agricultural World gyrated around the Big House, and the Chapel, with its Holy Administrator, [was] dedicated to the dissemination of Catholicism in the community. In time many of these "Engenhos" developed into villas, and were succeeded by the cities of today.
>
> Each of these "Engenhos," as these agricultural communities were called, produced everything that they consumed except luxury, and this was imported from Portugal in exchange for sugar, high-grade tobacco, cotton, and rare cabinet woods. The "Senhor" of the Engenho was a veritable Feudal Baron, with the power of life and death over his black and mestizo slaves. He exercised the right of torture and flogging in proportion to the offenses committed. These sugar Engenhos, because of their collective and independent existence, produced a pride of origin, an attachment to the soil, that flowered into a hatred of the monarchial exploiters and became the dominating factor in the movement for independence.

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The fidalgos were essentially a product of the land, and spent the major part of their luxurious existence on their estates, attended by innumerable slaves. Their homes were built upon a vast scale and equipped with every luxury known to so simple a people. They also

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175 45 per cent of the total investment was in slaves--labor costs, always
249 high, had been driven up by the suppression of the slave trade. The
47 relatively small proportion of steam mills is at once a reflection of
454 the continuing primitive technology and a sign of the improvements
which were to come later in the century. The value of production for
[433] this year was $1,213,000--a return of 6.6 per cent on the capital
investment.[35]

175 While the attention of the Baiano was focused on the sugar
249 industry during this golden age, tobacco unobtrusively was becoming
178 a primary commercial product. The suppression of the slave trade
439 deprived tobacco of its African market, but at the same time the
European market was expanding. The spread of cigar smoking in Europe
created an increasing demand for Bahian leaf. Ultimately the European
demand for quality leaf and the development of a Brazilian market for
the poorer grades were to carry tobacco to the leading position among
Bahia's commercial products.

175 To a very large degree, the mold of the colonial Recôncavo was
433 fixed in the sixteenth century. Its socio-economic system was nurtured
249 by the prosperous semi-monopoly of sugar production. While the south
[565] of Brazil was a raw frontier zone of migratory agricultural adventurers,
the Paulistas (natives of São Paulo) of early colonial times,[36] a stable
and wealthy aristocratic society was developing in the Recôncavo. In
[477] the early eighteenth century, when West Indies competition undermined
the sugar monopoly, the Recôncavo might have responded creatively to
the challenge, but failed to do so. The simultaneous mineral boom in
Minas Gerais drained away the more experimental elements and left
behind those who were less adventurous. Yet before the denial of
markets had disrupted entirely the old economic and cultural pattern,
the late eighteenth-early nineteenth century resurgence reaffirmed

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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Northeast Brazil SO1
Brazil SL1

BB 175 249 433 the traditional values. As has been seen, the re-opening of the markets at first particularly benefited the Recôncavo.

NB 175 433 The developments in the Recôncavo were shared only partially by the other areas of the Brazilian Northeast. The colonial economy of Pernambuco, the second major center in the Northeast, was not nurtured NE EB [316] by a prosperity equal to that of Bahia. The booms in the mineral areas, which had a disruptive effect on the Recôncavo, apparently were less strongly felt in more-distant Pernambuco. In the south of Brazil, EB 175 433 316 241 neither Rio de Janeiro nor São Paulo shared in Bahia's colonial opulence until the nineteenth century. Moreover, the mining developments, which were a disturbing influence on Recôncavo society, had a stimulating effect on agriculture and trade in the South, especially in São Paulo. Although Minas Gerais attracted some settlers from the South, in the main the mineral development acted as a stimulant to agriculture. Thus the forces of colonial evolution in the Recôncavo were distinctive variants of those characteristic of the whole of Brazil.

BB 175 The Last Hundred Years--1850 to the Present. The series of external forces which contributed to the revival of the Recôncavo in the early nineteenth century were destined to sweep it from the main current of Brazilian development. The pressure of these outside events were apparent in the Recôncavo as early as 1825, but it was in the last half of the century that the region was relegated to the subordinate position which it occupies today.

B BB 175 567 648 [439] There is a historical connection between the events which first bestowed and later took away Recôncavo prosperity. The collapse in the West Indies sugar industry re-opened markets to Brazil, but it also ended England's economic interests in slavery. With no vested

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Northeast Brazil SO1
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interest to deter her, Great Britain became in the nineteenth century the great anti-slavery force of the world. The British government began to press Brazil for a treaty to halt the slave trade. In 1826 a treaty was signed in which Brazil agreed to end the slave trade within four years. However, Brazil had just achieved its independence (1824), and the new national government was too weak to enforce the provisions of the treaty. After 25 years of bitter diplomatic exchanges with Great Britain, the Brazilian government succeeded in fulfilling its treaty obligations, and after 1852 almost no slaves were landed in Brazil.

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The end of the slave trade foreshadowed the end of slave labor in Brazil. The Northeast fought to preserve the system, but it was doomed not only as a result of extra-Brazilian pressures but also because of internal economic development. Just as in the eighteenth century the political capital had shifted from the North (Salvador) to the Central-South (Rio de Janeiro), so in the nineteenth century the economic center of gravity moved to São Paulo and adjacent Rio de Janeiro and Minas Gerais.[37] At first the developments in São Paulo imitated those of the Northeast, and a sugar industry employing traditional techniques was established. Almost immediately, however, the Central-South began to demonstrate an initiative unknown in the old sugar regions.

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At the beginning of the nineteenth century Bahia was exporting 12,000 tons of sugar, Pernambuco 8,400 tons, Rio de Janeiro 5,400 tons, and São Paulo 600 tons.[38] By mid-century Rio de Janeiro--chiefly Campos, near the mouth of the Rio Paraíba--was producing more sugar than any other province. In 1875, Rio de Janeiro was still the largest producer, with São Paulo second, Pernambuco third, and Bahia

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fourth. By the end of the century, São Paulo was the largest sugar

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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By the end of the century, São Paulo was the largest sugar producer, chiefly supplying its own internal market, but also exporting in small quantity. The Recôncavo struggled to maintain even a poor fourth position.[39]

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The growth of the sugar industry in the South was not an isolated development but was one part of a general agricultural and economic expansion. The south of Brazil, which had gained new political power as a result of its expansion, began to press for abolition of slaves. Slave labor had not played a significant role in the south after 1850.

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In 1871 a law was passed providing for the gradual emancipation of slaves and the compensation of slave holders. The Northeast resisted bitterly but in vain. A new law passed in 1888 gave complete and immediate freedom to the slaves; and this law did not provide for compensation of the slave owners.

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The end of slavery threatened the Recôncavo in two ways. The suppression of the slave traffic destroyed the African trade in tobacco. The loss was soon more than compensated by the rapid expansion of the market for Bahian tobacco in Europe. By the 1870's tobacco surpassed sugar and became the chief export of Bahia. The effect of the emancipation on the sugar industry was much more far-reaching. The freeing of the slaves destroyed the labor base of sugar cultivation and processing. The gradual character of emancipation cushioned the blow somewhat, but it was still disastrous to the industry. Slaves left the plantations by the thousands, and there was no alternative source of labor. Sugar exports fell to a fourth of the pre-emancipation level. After a time the emancipated Negroes and mulattoes returned to the plantations and mills under a system of free labor. But Bahian sugar could not regain even a substantial part of its former importance.

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249 Rope tobacco, fumo en corda, is a twist of sweetened, fermented tobacco of rope-like appearance which is smoked in pipes or in hand-made cigarettes or may be used as a chewing tobacco--however, the habit of chewing tobacco is not common in the Recôncavo. This type of tobacco originally was produced for exchange in the slave trade, but at the present time it is consumed almost exclusively by the rural lower class. The urban lower class, formerly also consumers of rope tobacco, are turning increasingly to manufactured cigarettes, which for the most part are made from the tobacco grown in Rio Grande do Sul.

In general the production of leaf tobacco in Brazil is restricted to the Recôncavo and adjacent sections of Bahia, but rope tobacco is a product of the sertão of Bahia and the northeastern interior and of Minas Gerais. In Bahia the moderate rainfall and the sandy soils of the humid edge of the crystalline zone, in areas of caatinga or mata vegetation, produce a relatively mild leaf. The best--most valuable--leaf of Bahia is the Mata grade of the Southwestern Recôncavo and certain adjacent municípios.[14] Of the Mata grade, the highest quality comes from Cruz das Almas. Rope tobacco is made primarily from the harsh, strong leaves grown in the sertão, but it is made also from leaves of poorer plants or very strong end-of-season leaves of plants originally harvested for fumo en fôlha. Thus the Recôncavo may sometimes produce small quantities of rope tobacco, but the main Bahian production is north of the Recôncavo in the agreste, especially in Inhambupe and Entre Rios.

The cultivation of tobacco will be discussed in the chapter on agricultural systems (Chapter VI), but one singular characteristic of its harvesting should be borne in mind in evaluating production statistics. In distinction to cultivation of quality tobacco in most other parts of the world, Bahia-Brasil is harvested repeatedly until

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245 311 Within the Recôncavo coconut production is important along the sandy beach line of the island of Itaparica and along the ocean coast of Salvador, where coconuts are virtually the only agricultural product [133] [134] (Maps 58, 59, and 60). The inner shores of the Bay, which rise abruptly with rocky clay slopes, bear very few coconuts, except in a low-lying sandy zone along the estuary of the Paraguaçu. Coconuts are produced 245 [423] chiefly on large properties which are frequently owned by urban families. [464] The plantations are operated with hired labor drawn from the coastal [438] population. When harvested, the coconuts are sold in the urban markets [258] of Salvador and other cities and towns. Very little of the Recôncavo [439] production is converted into oil, and little is exported.

Oranges. The navel orange is a Bahian development, a mutation [433] of the orange brought from Europe. The main centers of Brazilian production, however, are elsewhere in the country, and cultivation of oranges within the Recôncavo is primarily for local consumption.

245 311 Scattered orange trees are a feature of the rural and urban landscape in many areas. In addition to this generalized cultivation, which frequently is not shown in the official data, there is commercial production in the environs of several urban centers—Alagoinhas, Santo Antônio, and to a lesser extent, Salvador (Maps 61 and 62). The [489] [443] cidades of Alagoinhas and Santo Antônio are both markets for part of the local crop; moreover, both are on the railroads leading to Salvador, which is the chief market for the entire region. In addition to these three main concentrations, there are numerous orange groves in the Southwestern Recôncavo which apparently serve both local and regional markets, though on a small scale. In general the relative area in orange groves is not great, yet in 1948 they occupied 10 per cent of the cropland of Alagoinhas.

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Cachoeira, which formerly included most of the western part of the region, was the center of the production of tobacco for use in the slave trade. The growth of the trade in leaf tobacco in the nineteenth century brought great changes to the region, for it made tobacco a major commercial product in its own right, no longer dependent upon the slave trade. Eventually this development gave the region of tobacco production a greater economic importance than the sugar cane region, although it remained subordinate in political and social influence. The development of the new tobacco economy also gave the region a greater superiority over the sertão, which could satisfactorily produce fumo em corda, but could grow only the poorest grades of fumo em fôlha.

Probably the tobacco-manioc region supplied manioc as the subsistence food of the sugar economy, since it is the only nearby area which was a center of manioc production. Perhaps manioc was produced in the sugar cane zone, but in view of the intensity of sugar cane cultivation, this seems doubtful. In any case, the present relative level of manioc production in this crop region probably dates from the nineteenth century development of cigar tobacco production.

The second basic crop region of the Recôncavo is the sugar cane monocultural area. It is sub-divided into a major zone, in Santo Amaro, São Sebastião, and São Francisco; a minor zone in Cachoeira; and an outlier in São Filipe. It is estimated that in the first two zones 90 per cent of the cropland was in cane in 1948. In the São Filipe outlier of the sugar cane region the proportion seems to have been lower--perhaps 50 per cent of the cultivated area.

The physical association of the sugar cane region north of the Rio Paraguaçu and the Bay is relatively simple--a humid and formerly forested undulating plain composed of mixed Cretaceous soils--massapê, salão, and aréia. In São Filipe the land is rougher, but the sugar cane is grown upon heavy soils similar to the Cretaceous series.

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CHAPTER IX

VALUE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

B BB 241 128

The analysis of the distribution of cropland and of the quantity of production has established the Recôncavo as a distinctive regional unit of Bahia and of Brazil without formulating clearly the importance of the region to the state or the nation. Similarly, the internal differentiation of the region has been discussed in terms of various municípios, sub-regions, and crop regions without establishing the basic importance of these to the Recôncavo except as components of the agricultural landscape or as producers of crops with an unspecified value. Although the value of agricultural production is not exclusively economic, monetary value is one of the most useful general standards for estimating the collective and individual importance of diverse agricultural products.

B BB 128

The tables and discussion which follow have three purposes: (1) the estimation of the importance of the Recôncavo and its individual products to the Brazilian and the Bahian economy; (2) the determination of the importance of individual products within the economy of the region; and (3) the evaluation of the economic importance of the crop regions, previously delimited, to the Recôncavo.

B BB 241 433

The total value of the crops of the Recôncavo was less than 1 per cent of the total value of crop production in Brazil in 1948, based upon a comparison of the value of 21 principal crops of Brazil and of the Recôncavo which are given in Table XV. Although for several centuries the region was an outstandingly productive center of the Brazilian economy, today it plays a secondary role even within Bahia. In recent decades the southern coast of the state, growing cacao for foreign markets, has

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come to be the area of the greatest value of agricultural production in the state--Cr.$1,007,824,000, in 1948, almost three times the value of

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crop and livestock production in the Recôncavo, Cr.$335,000,000. The total value of livestock production in the Recôncavo is estimated to be about Cr.$60,000,000 for 1948. Although no comparable figure is available for Brazil, probably the Recôncavo had less than 1 per cent of the livestock and thus produced less than 1 per cent of the value of livestock in the nation as a whole.[1]

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The present inferior position of the Recôncavo is in part a reflection of the relative decline of the region in the nineteenth century discussed in the chapter on the evolution of the Recôncavo. However, the Recôncavo continues to lag behind in the contemporary development

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of Brazil. From 1944 to 1952 the total cruzeiro value of the principal crops of Brazil increased four-fold, while the value of Bahia's tobacco crop, a good indicator of the economic shifts of the Recôncavo, increased by only one-fifth despite the concurrent inflationary spiral. Even the government-stabilized sugar industry of the Recôncavo produced only three and one-half times its 1944 value. Although the above increases are more indicative of the steadily declining value of Brazilian currency than of true economic development, they are an index of the relative importance of agriculture in the Recôncavo to the national economy.

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Tobacco, sugar cane, and manioc, which occupied 70 per cent of the Recôncavo's cropland, accounted for 77 per cent of the total value of all principal crops in 1948 (Table XVI). Each of the three crops contributed at least 20 per cent of the value of all crops, while no other crop produced over 6 per cent of the total. The cruzeiro value of these principal crops, and of livestock, and their relative position within the nation has been given in Table XV, above.

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TABLE XVII

MEAN VALUE OF PRODUCTION PER HECTARE FOR THE CROPS OF THE RECÔNCAVO IN 1948

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Crops	Value of Production Cr.$1.000 per ha.
Principal Crops*	
Tobacco	3,900
Manioc	3,100
Sugar Cane	4,600
Beans	2,200
Oranges**	13,300
Bananas**	8,600
Corn	800
Coconuts**	7,400
Coffee**	1,400
Pineapple	1,000
Peanuts	2,400
Sweet Potatoes	3,500
All Crops	3,400

*Crops with a value in excess of Cr.$1,000,000.
**There is little consistent relationship between the area and production of these crops, so that local values for these crops often depart widely from the mean.
Source: Calculations and estimations based upon Produção Agrícola: 1948.

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433 leading producer--40 per cent of the total value of the tobacco crop. Notwithstanding the dominant role of the Southwestern area, tobacco production north of the Rio Paraguaçu was also significant--contributing 24 per cent of the total value of the crop.

As has been indicated, several grades of tobacco are produced in the Recôncavo. The superiority of the tobacco production of the Southwestern Recôncavo is more than a matter of hectares of cultivation or kilograms of leaf. The area is the core of the "Mata Fina" zone, within which the leaf of Cruz das Almas is assigned the highest price. [439] The "Mata Fina" leaf is the basis of the export of cigar tobacco to European markets. In its concern with cacao, the most valuable export, [245] [439] Bahia tends to forget the important role which tobacco plays in its economy, and with this, so the people of the zone sometimes feel, to

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249 433 [245] [439] neglect the critical tobacco producing areas. It seems to be true that the chief recipients of political and economic attention have been the traditionally important sugar cane area, and more recently the cacao [491] zone. The people of the tobacco area complain particularly about the lack of roads.

244 433 Not only is manioc the basic source of subsistence for the Recôncavo, it is also the second crop in value of production. Its cultivation, as has been seen, is closely associated with the production of tobacco, so that the Southwestern Recôncavo, which produced 63 per cent of the tobacco crop, also contributed a very large part--48 per cent--of the total value of manioc (Map 121). However, manioc is important in its own right, as well as in its relationship to tobacco. No data are available to indicate the importance of manioc as a surplus product which is sold beyond the borders of the município in which it is grown. A rough estimate can be made by assuming that the per capita consumption of manioc is 400 kilograms per year--this is the mean consumption for the state of Bahia. Using this figure in conjunction with the population data, it is possible to estimate that in 1948 about 30,000 tons of surplus manioc was produced in the Recôncavo. Ninety per cent of this surplus was produced in the municípios of the Southwestern Recôncavo. [489] [494] It is significant that many of the trucks passing from the Southwestern Recôncavo to Feira de Santana and Salvador are piled high with bags of farinha de mandioca. The total value of commercial manioc would be about Cr.$6,500,000, so that on this basis manioc is the fourth or fifth most valuable commercial crop of the Recôncavo. Using the above method of determination, it was found that several municípios adjoining the region also produced surpluses of manioc. The most notable of these were the four municípios adjacent to the Southwestern Recôncavo--Nazaré, São Miguel, Santo Antônio, and Castro Alves--which produced a

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249 in meeting his contract with the agent. The result of this and other
442 speculative practices is that the price of tobacco tends to spiral upward
438 throughout the season.
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The crop is delivered to the buyer in small lots--10 to 15 kilo-
249 grams--which are assembled, graded, and baled. The bales are taken to
276 the warehouse of the agent where they are added to other bales to form
438 a large pile in which fermentation can take place. After fermentation
442 the bales are broken, and the leaf is re-sorted. With the better grades the sorting is done very carefully, and a large number of size and texture grades are separated. Intermediate grades are sorted less carefully, often by bundles rather than by individual leaves. The poorest grades are stripped without grading. After sorting or stripping, the leaf is again placed in bales and kept in the warehouse until transport can be arranged to deliver the tobacco to Salvador or to the cigar factories.

249 Most of the tobacco produced in the Recôncavo is exported. In the
433 years 1946 to 1950, inclusive, 166,676 tons of leaf tobacco were produced
439 in Bahia and 128,567 tons were exported, so that about 75 per cent of the total crop of the state was exported.[2] However, the exported leaf is made up of the choice tobaccos, that is "Mata Fina," which are largely grown in the Recôncavo. It may be concluded from this that at least four-fifths of the tobacco crop of the Recôncavo was exported during this years. Tobacco exported from the Recôncavo normally composes 70 per cent of all the tobacco exported from Brazil. In value, the tobacco exported from the Recôncavo was less than 1 per cent of the total exports of all products from Brazil.[3]

482 Transportation. The backs of men and of animals are the basic
492 transportation media in the Recôncavo: almost all goods begin and end
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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

as a ton of cane through the rain-softened clay. It is pulled, depending upon the load and the condition of the route, by four, six, or eight oxen. It has no brakes, although occasionally a long pole is used as a drag. The cart and the team are managed by two people, a man who rides the cart, goads the wheel oxen, and shouts directions, and a boy who runs in front and turns the lead oxen with a long slender pole. As has been seen, a very large number of oxen are maintained on the sugar cane plantations and the accessory ranches of the area. Donkeys are used in the cane area for lesser tasks, such as carrying seed cane, tools, and subsistence products; both horses and mules are used for riding--usually the plantation foremen ride the patient, slow-moving mules, while the owners and administrators ride the small, agile horses which come from the sertão. In most other parts of the Recôncavo, in the littoral forest and in the dry caatinga, the donkey and mule are the universal beasts of burden.

One município of the Recôncavo--Coração de Maria--has no motor roads, and is thus served only by pack animals. The cidades of all the other municípios are on highways of some sort, but usually only a single road passes directly across the município. The back-country of the municípios, which in this sense includes about nine-tenths of the total area, is criss-crossed with a network of trails. Some of these are wide enough for an ox cart, or in very good weather, for a jeep to pass through. Many others are only narrow paths winding through the second growth and passing between cultivated fields.

Land transportation between the various parts of the Recôncavo has less direct agricultural importance than in the United States, since so much of the agricultural produce is consumed within the município in which it is grown. Those agricultural products, such as tobacco or sugar, which are destined for non-local or external markets are

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497 usually carried by rail or by automotive transport. The operation of
494 the economy of the Recôncavo seems to require a constant movement of merchants, fazendeiros (landowners) and agents between the various cidades, and between the lesser urban centers and Salvador or Feira de Santana.

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497 The two railroad systems which serve the Recôncavo and the adjoining areas are both narrow-gauge lines. The most extensive system belongs to the Viação Férrea Federal Leste Brasileiro, called the "Leste." It is part of a larger network which, in theory, connects Rio de Janeiro and the rest of the Central-South with the Northeast as far as Maceió in the state of Alagoas. Within the Recôncavo the main lines of the Leste stretch out from Salvador northward through Alagoinhas and westward through Cachoeira. A branch line of the latter runs to Feira de Santana.

The Estrada de Ferro Nazaré railroad crosses only the corner of the Recôncavo, but it runs for a long distance near the southwestern perimeter. The line begins at Jequié in the coffee zone and terminates at the cidade of Nazaré and at São Roque on the estuary of the Rio
[505] Paraguaçu below Maragogipe. These two terminals are connected to Salvador by motor vessels which attempt to coordinate their schedules with the trains. A rail link between the Nazaré line at Santo Antônio and the Leste at Cruz das Almas has been under construction for some years.

493
497 Most of the rolling stock of the Leste is archaic, but the Nazaré line has relatively good equipment. The woodburning locomotives used by both railroads are small but are kept in good repair and operate with reasonable efficiency. They are cheap and flexible to operate and, in view of the limited fuel resource of Brazil, seem almost ideal. The Leste has a diesel engine for the passenger train which operates between

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 which it is hauled by railroad or boat to the mill, although sometimes
497 the cane which is carried by boat is weighed at the mill. The rail-
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496 roads which handle the cane, as has been indicated, are owned and
471 operated by the usinas, except that the government right-of-way is
249 used whenever these tracks pass close to the plantations. One of the usinas is new and a few of the older mills have some new equipment, but the general level of technology is considerably below that of Pernambuco or São Paulo and the mills are somewhat smaller. The usinas grind the cane, extract the juices, and refine the sugar by means of vacuum pans and centrifuges. The more modern usinas produce a high quality sugar, but in general the product is coarse and not a pure white.
274 The by-products of the large usinas and part or all of the cane juice
385 of some of the usinas and engenhos is converted into rum or commercial
262 alcohol. The sugar, rum, and alcohol from the sugar industry of the
273
438 Recôncavo are consumed primarily within the Recôncavo and the adjoining
439 regions of Bahia. About one-tenth of the production of sugar is
382 exported, chiefly to Rio de Janeiro. The commercial alcohol usually
385 is mixed with gasoline in the bulk plants in Salvador to provide fuel
654 for automotive transport. By law a specified amount of commercial alcohol must be mixed with gasoline--this is designed to subsidize the sugar industry.

249 There are twenty usinas in the Recôncavo, and these produced
471 an estimated 80 per cent of the total sugar of the state of Bahia in
433 1948. The three largest of these are owned by a single sugar company, which also owns the associated plantations, transportation equipment, and cattle fazendas. This company plays an important role in the
249 marketing of sugar from its own usinas and from other companies. The
471 concentration of the cultivation of sugar cane and of the production
178 of sugar in the hands of this single enterprise is a symptom of the

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258 but also because the manioc roots are too heavy and bulky to be transported over long distances. Moreover, the market for farinha de mandioca [438] is generally local, except in the Southwestern Recôncavo.

258 471 [454] The capital investment in a casa de farinha is small, usually less than one hundred dollars, but this sum is far beyond the reach of most cultivators. The mills are built by owners of medium-sized land holdings or local merchants, and are operated on a share basis. The mill owner usually receives one-tenth of the finished product in exchange [427] for the use of the mill equipment. The customer rents the equipment [464] rather than the service and must therefore provide the labor, although [592] the owner usually furnishes one or two workers. Generally the processing [462] of manioc is a family operation in which the women and girls scrape the roots and the men and boys perform the more arduous tasks.

277 [439] Most of the tobacco which is grown in the Recôncavo is exported in the form of leaf. Therefore, the processing of tobacco is less important in relation to the cultivation of tobacco than is the processing of manioc and sugar in relation to their respective cultivation. The leaf tobacco which is retained in the area is made into cigars in home industries and in a number of cigar factories. The home-produced cigars are made by tobacco cultivators and small-scale processors in the villages, towns, and cities of the region. These cigars are generally [443] very cheap and are sold in the local mercado (market) or in small vendas (shops). It is difficult to assess the total importance of this form of processing, but it seems likely that the number of cigars so made is extremely large.

207 [464] The cigar factories of the Recôncavo are located in the cidades of São Gonçalo, Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, and Maragogipe. Each of the factories employs from 100 to 200 workers, usually women from the surrounding area. Machines are used to produce the cheaper grades;

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277 the more expensive varieties are hand made. The fillers and inner wrappers of the cigars are made from local tobaccos. Local leaf also [439] is used to a very limited extent for the outer wrappers, but almost all of the high quality cigars are made from wrapper leaf imported [471] from Havana, Sumatra, or the Connecticut Valley. The ownership of all the cigar factories is concentrated in three companies, all of which [439] have their headquarters in Salvador. The cigars produced in the Recôncavo are sold throughout Brazil.

182 Conclusion. Many of the features of the systems of marketing, 43 transportation, and processing which are characteristic of the Recôncavo 44 are effective in unifying the region. In particular, the centralized 184 marketing and economic control of the production and processing of tobacco and sugar draw both the tobacco and manioc region and the sugar cane region closer to Salvador. At the same time, the differences in marketing techniques and the separate channels of control which are associated with these two products accentuate the sub-regional pattern 182 of the two crop regions. The system of general marketing exemplified 438 by the municipal markets might at first glance seem to be a focus 443 for local rather than regional interests. However, as has been seen, 184 there are itinerant merchants who pass from market to market throughout the Recôncavo. Moreover, the major public markets, such as Feira de Santana and Salvador, draw large numbers of people from most of the rural sections. Even the local marketing institutions contribute to the identification of the people of this area with the region.

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of livestock, which had a value greater than sugar cane but less than manioc.

Agricultural activities within the Recôncavo are localized in several distinct sub-regions, each with a specialized system of cultivation and each with either one or two principal crops. The primary agricultural subdivisions of the region are: (1) the sugar cane monocultural sub-region; and (2) the tobacco-manioc sub-region.

249 Sugar cane is grown as the exclusive crop in its major area of production--the pocket of coastal plain north of the Baía de Todos os Santos. Cane is generally cultivated under a four-year monoculture and one-year fallow system on large properties employing large quantities of hand labor and using oxen to draw plows and carts. Neither fertilizer [407] nor agricultural machinery is used to any appreciable extent. Most of [492] the animals used as labor in the production of sugar cane are brought [231] into the area from the sertão, and little livestock breeding is found [233] in this area. The processing of sugar cane is in the hands of a small [471] number of medium-sized usinas. The companies which own these usinas [178] are gradually buying up the plantations so that to an increasing extent the mills directly control the production of sugar cane. Most of the [497] cane is brought to the usinas by railroad, although sailing boats are [489] used for this purpose along tidewater. Most of the sugar produced in [505] [438] the Recôncavo is consumed within the state of Bahia, but small quantities [439] are shipped to other parts of Brazil. Both the aristocratic upper class [565] and the rising non-aristocratic business interests of the Recôncavo are [471] [472] involved in the ownership and administration of the sugar industry. The [464] permanent labor force is supplied from the settlements of the sugar cane [178] plantations and the mills, but the rural population and the labor force of the sugar area are declining. Seasonal labor for the harvest comes from the interior sertão of Bahia.

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249 471 433 these individual shortcomings of the industry are less important than, and to a certain extent derived from, three basic problems of the sugar economy: land, market, and leadership.

249 [311] Most of the area of Cretaceous soil in the lowlands of the Recôncavo presently is occupied by sugar cane or by the fallow fields. Only those lands which are too wet or which are needed for settlement, mills, or transportation are not used for cultivation. Thus there seems to be little opportunity to increase the area of good sugar cane land. It would presumably be possible to reduce the fallow period by lengthening the period of ratoon harvests or to abandon the fallow period altogether. If, as seems likely, these changes would reduce the yield of cane, then it would be necessary to begin to use expensive imported fertilizers in order not to lose the advantages gained by increasing [242] the intensiveness of cultivation. The introduction of high-yielding Javanese varieties of cane has already been attempted, but because of climatic conditions, soil deficiencies, poor cultivation practices, or a combination of these factors, yields remain below East Indian levels. [134] It is theoretically possible that sugar cane cultivation could be extended to the other soils of the lowland--the Tertiary sandy soils and the crystalline soils of the peninsula and of the Intermediate Hills west of the Bay. Both of these soils, however, are relatively infertile, and the sandy soils are particularly unsuited for cane because of their poor retention of water. Sugar cane cultivation is not practical on the Uplands on account of the low precipitation--cane can be grown in only a few damp valleys of the Uplands.

175 249 439 The second great disadvantage of the sugar cane industry of the Recôncavo is in its market relationship. The history of the sugar cane economy of the region may be summarized as follows. At the end of the sixteenth century the forty engenhos of the Recôncavo exported 1,800 to

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 439 [175]

of sugar to Europe. This 1,800 tons of sugar was probably a very large part of the total world trade in sugar at that time. In 1948 the twenty usinas of the region exported 8,497 tons of sugar to the rest of Brazil, primarily to Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. In this year the total international trade in sugar was about twelve million tons. Moreover, the Recôncavo was able to sell in the Brazilian market only by virtue of the support which has been given to the sugar industry of the Northeast by the Brazilian government. The European market has long been lost to the Recôncavo, and the chances of regaining any substantial part of it are not good--not only on account of the low level of efficiency of the Bahian sugar industry but also because of the local and foreign sources of sugar against which it would have to compete in the European market.

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The third problem of the sugar industry is leadership, which is to say the problem of the Bahian upper class. The development of the sugar economy and of the aristocratic upper class of the Recôncavo are practically inseparable, and the decline of the former is in part a reflection of the inability of the latter to provide intelligent and progressive leadership. The institutions which were developed in the opening century of colonization for the production of sugar succeeded altogether too well as far as the region is concerned, for since then the industry has not succeeded in establishing a new pattern in conformity with the changing systems of technology and the new competitive situation. A century of failure either to develop an efficient sugar industry or to find new sources of income for the sugar area is a sign of the continuing failure of the upper class. More and more the leadership of the sugar industry is passing from the aristocrats to the new segment of the upper class, the agricultural capitalists. In most cases these men seem to have a broader view of the problems of the

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industry than the aristocrats, as the partial rationalization of the sugar system since 1900 testifies. However, the entry of even these relatively progressive and forward-looking business men into an industry whose only future is that guaranteed by the protection of the government does not reveal a willingness either to accept short-term risks or to make an investment in the long-term future of the Recôncavo.

Tobacco, as has been seen, began its history as an auxiliary of the sugar cane economy. The development of the commercial tobacco economy since 1800 indicates a greater flexibility than is characteristic of the sugar industry. When the decline of the slave trade brought an end to the African market for fumo em corda, the tobacco economy turned to a new product, fumo em fôlha, and to a new market, Europe. Unlike the sugar of the Recôncavo, Bahian tobacco has been able to compete successfully in the European market against leaf imported from Cuba and from Sumatra. Moreover, the leaf tobacco of Bahia dominates the internal market of Brazil to a degree not equaled by the local sugar industry for several centuries.

There are several possible explanations for the relatively greater flexibility of the tobacco economy. Several of the more prominent firms in the manufacturing of cigars and in the export of tobacco have foreign origins or are owned by people of European background. Indirectly these firms may have affected the operation of the tobacco economy, but it is difficult to find any signs of significant changes in the methods of cultivation. On the other hand, the tobacco industry and trade seem to have been spared the unimaginative and inflexible leadership which the aristocratic upper class of the Recôncavo has given to the sugar industry.

Tobacco cultivation by its very nature is more flexible than the system of sugar production. Instead of the usina, which must be

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 municípios. However, in this southwestern area the amount of flat land
311 is progressively reduced as the serras of the coffee zone are approached.
[245] Moreover, this region is already occupied by the other commercial systems--coffee, and in a few areas, sugar cane. Thus tobacco would not be moving into an area in which it could have either the land or the labor force without a struggle.

277 Leaf tobacco has a number of disadvantages as a primary commercial
439 product. The Brazilian market for Bahian tobacco is not yet large enough to stabilize the price during years when it is impossible to sell leaf abroad. In Europe the tobacco of Bahia must compete with leaf from other parts of the world, and because the Recôncavo has not yet succeeded in producing a suitable high quality wrapper leaf, it cannot hope to secure the whole market no matter how great its quantity of production. One of the possibilities which is being considered by the tobacco industry is the production of wrapper tobacco, but the experiments which have been completed so far have not been highly successful. Even if the quality of the tobacco were improved, one basic market problem would remain--tobacco is a luxury product, and many countries find it possible to do without it in times of war or economic distress.

249 The basic problem of tobacco production in the immediate future seems almost certain to be the system of cultivation and the land system with which it is connected. As has been seen, in the main centers of production the fallow period is already extremely short. It is not unlikely that the cumulative effect of too short a rotation period under a system of land rotation will reduce the fertility of the soil to a point where normal second growth will not develop and where land rotation, especially with so demanding a crop as tobacco, will be impossible. Moreover, if the intensity of tobacco cultivation should increase, then it seems inevitable that the density of livestock within

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

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*247 For the first time in the history of Vila Recôncavo the work-
468 ers' discontent has taken the form of a strike accompanied by violence. The strike, although a general one throughout the sugar industry, was the first one in which workers of Vila Recôncavo participated. It was specifically directed against the
178 agricultural part of the factory combination; however, it af-
*249 fected some private plantations as well, and was joined by
468 workers of private plantations. The strike was put down im-
467 mediately and effectively by the state police. On investigation
668 the police found considerable Communist literature and prop-
[625] aganda in the quarters of the labor union in Centro which had organized the strike. The labor union itself was illegal, since it was not registered with the proper authorities, and its leaders were well-known Communist agitators. What is important for our study is the appearance in the community of Vila Recôncavo of written and verbal Communist propaganda and the willingness of the local agricultural workers to participate in a general strike. This is a tremendous change for such a conservative area, where loyalty and paternalism have always been so strong.

178 Thus the sugar industry of Vila Recôncavo has entered a
*249 phase of many new difficulties: ties between factory and pri-
571 vate planters are strained, and labor relations are becoming
466 a problem for the private, as well as the corporate, planters. Inflation and the "dollar situation," which affect planters directly since all machinery must be imported, are also working toward the build-up of a new "crisis," continuing the pattern described in Chapter 3.

178 However, a new element is entering the community of Vila
245 Recôncavo in the form of a new crop, cacao. One of the plant-
242 ers began experimenting with cacao during the author's first period of research in Vila Reconcavo. However, at least five years must pass before it can be known if the cacao tree will give satisfactory fruit. At the end of 1955 the Institute of Cacao of Bahia presented the experiment to the public as a success and is now systematically stimulating interest in cacao as a possible and lucrative substitute for sugar cane.

245 Cacao is Bahia's major export crop and in general means
439 money to a Bahian. Still more attractive is the fact that the
178 cacao introduced to the Recôncavo is a genetic mutation, giv-
*[249] ing a white-seeded fruit which brings a much higher price on the world market than does the ordinary fruit. The financial attraction of cacao, plus the disagreeable and financially weak

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

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position of the sugar industry in Vila Recôncavo, is creating considerable interest on the part of the community's planters. Just as sugar cane is limited by soil and climatic conditions, so also is the cacao. There is little fear, therefore, of competition from many other areas. In addition, cacao is exportable, while the sugar of the area is for internal consumption only.

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In spite of the attraction of this new crop, there are a number of problems which must be dealt with. First, the details of a change from sugar cane to cacao must be worked out, especially as regards space and financing. The planter must juggle his sugar plantings, pastures, and rotation lands so that he can slowly take out land for preparation for cacao. If he wants to finance the changeover himself, he cannot lessen his sugar production; in fact, he needs more money than before. Banks in general lend on the forthcoming crop; if the crop is reduced, so is the amount which can be borrowed. However, to overcome this, the Institute of Cacao of Bahia is preparing a financing program on a long-term basis. Sugar cane is a perennial, planted one year, bearing for the next three or four years, then ploughed under and replanted. Cacao, on the other hand, is a permanent tree crop which gives its first fruit in five years, reaches maturity in fifteen or twenty years, and then continues to produce annually for sixty to one hundred years. Thus sugar cane is financed on a one-year basis, while initial plantings of cacao must be financed on a long-term basis of ten to fifteen years. The change from a perennial crop to a permanent crop also requires a totally different mental set on the part of the planter.

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Cacao is a "forest crop," which means that it requires shading. Under primitive conditions it is planted in dense tropical forest. In Vila Recôncavo, however, the former tropical forest has been entirely cleared away during the last four hundred years, since sugar cane tolerates no shade. Therefore, before the cacao can be planted, shade must be provided. This is done by planting banana trees and, at fixed intervals, single seedlings of a precocious, long-living, high-growing shade tree. To pay for the work involved it is common to plant manioc between the banana trees. The manioc is gathered the following year, and shortly thereafter the young cacao trees can be planted. The banana trees offer sufficient shade for the young plants. For a period of five or six years the planter

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RACE RELATIONS IN A RURAL COMMUNITY OF THE BAHIAN RECÔNCAVO[1]

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by
HARRY W. HUTCHINSON

I. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, a narrow strip along the north-eastern coast of Brazil in what are now the States of Pernambuco, Alagoas, Sergipe and Bahia, was the most important region of economic, political and social life in the whole colony. The rainfall along this portion of the coast is dependable and the extremely fertile soil, which was originally covered with thick forests, was ideally suited for sugar cane. By the seventeenth century, this region produced a large part of the world's sugar supply. Sugar, which was then a luxury in Europe, brought fabulous profits, and the north-eastern coast of Brazil became an exceedingly prosperous colony. Large cities grew up along the coast; Salvador in Bahia and Recife in Pernambuco became the most important centres of colonial life, and Salvador was the capital of the colony from 1549 to 1763. Both were cities of great wealth based on the booming sugar industry. The numerous churches built in Salvador during the period of opulence, with their elaborate gold-leafed wood carving and polychrome tile work, are witnesses to the tremendous wealth of the era.

It was the plantation system, the basis of this lucrative sugar industry, which gave this region many of its characteristic traditions and formed patterns of race relations which have persisted in a modified form into the present. Gilberto Freyre in his monumental *Casa Grande e Senzala*, and other Brazilian writers [1],[2] have described life on these sugar plantations. African slaves provided the manpower. More than three million Negroes were imported from Africa during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and a large proportion came to the sugar plantations of north-eastern Brazil. The Portuguese plantation owners became rich, and came to form a regional aristocracy with a luxurious and ostentatious way of life. The slaves and their masters, on these plantations, formed two distinct social groups, but it is distinctive of the region that their relations were intimate and warm; Freyre describes the intimacy between the *moleque* (Negro lad) and the master's son as playmates, between the master's wife and her domestic servants, between the Negro nurse and her white charges, and other close

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[1] In addition to thanking those persons listed in the introduction to this series of articles for their aid and co-operation in making this study possible, I wish to thank the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Charitable Foundation Inc. and the Department of Anthropology of Columbia University, whose grants of funds contributed largely to the possibility of this study. Also, to acknowledge with thanks the aid of Carmelita Junqueira Ayres and Elza Amelia Ferreira for their assistance in the collection of the data.

[2] The figures in brackets refer to the bibliography on page 48.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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BRAZIL SL1

ticularly São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro but also Belo Horizonte, Recife, Porto Alegre, and others, including Bahia.[8] For, stimulated by needs which could not be satisfied by importation from Europe or the United States under the conditions existing during two World Wars—and more particularly during the last one—and also by growing internal demand, industrialization has been assuming a continually larger role in what has previously been a predominantly agricultural and pastoral country. Concomitant with this increased industrialization—but not to be confused with it, since, for one thing, it began long before—there also has occurred a rapid and extensive growth of the cities. A high rate of natural increase of the population has meanwhile continued in all parts of the country, so that it is now estimated that approximately two and a half million persons are being added annually to the Brazilian people. New primary, secondary, technological and professional schools have been set up, in an urgent, but not yet adequate attempt—since it began with a huge deficit—to keep up with expanding educational needs.

The emergence of new employment opportunities, espe-

[8] Since the matter may have puzzled some readers, it perhaps should be pointed out that, in keeping with the traditional patterns in such cases during colonization and later, the term "Bahia" was long used to indicate, on the one hand, the Capitania, Province or State of Bahia and, on the other, its capital city, even though the latter had another (and less used) name—Salvador. At the time of our research, the capital city of the State of Bahia—where most of our research was carried on—was widely and commonly known also as "Bahia"; and this name is still being employed. Since this name was used in the original study, it will be retained in this Introduction, in order to avoid possible confusion when consulting different parts of this edition. Incidentally, the spelling of "Bahia" is correctly given here and throughout this book, although, for a time during the "spelling reform" in Brazil (but only temporarily), an effort was made in some quarters to write the name differently.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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these, together with the plantations of Pernambuco, supplied a large part of the sugar for the tables of Europe.

By 1670 Bahia was a wealthy capital boasting that her flag was known upon the seven seas. Ships from the Portuguese empire in the East called regularly on their way back to Portugal. By the early eighteenth century Bahia had grown into a city of 70,000, her commerce protected by the cross-fire of fourteen forts. Six- and seven-story buildings were common; the possession of carved ebony furniture had become a symbol of social standing; silks, palanquins, and the finest porcelain were imported from China. In the surrounding cane fields toiled, it is estimated, ten times as many slaves as in Virginia. A century later, Lindley, an English smuggler, after admiring the abundance of gold jewelry worn by the women of Bahia, looked out over the shipping in the harbor and wrote of "a degree of wealth unknown in Europe."

Bahia continued to be the first commercial city of Brazil until about 1830,[1] when she finally yielded front rank to São Paulo, the rising young metropolis to the south. But during the entire colonial period (1549–1822), Bahia possessed the principal Brazilian firms and the largest Brazilian fortunes.

During the first two centuries of the colonial era, Bahia was the seat of Portuguese control in Brazil, the official residence of high functionaries representing the Portuguese crown. Even after the government was transferred to Rio (1763), Bahia continued to play a prominent role in the politics of the colony and, subsequent to independence

[1] In 1868, although the decline in sugar production was by that time well advanced, Bahia had 511 *engenhos* producing nearly 19,000 tons of sugar a year.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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By 1710 Bahian tobacco[15] was being shipped in quantity to "the Mina coast," which for more than a century thereafter absorbed a full third of Bahia's production.[16] A visitor early in the eighteenth century referred to Bahia as "New Guinea";[17] while the natives of Guinea were said at that time to have called the outer world "Bahia."[18]

In 1781 fifty vessels were engaged in the Brazilian traffic, "eight or ten with Angola and the rest with the Sudanese coast."[19] In 1800 twenty vessels were plying the trade from Bahia alone. According to custom-house records, 29,172 Negroes from "the Mina coast" and the islands of São Thomé and Principe entered Bahia during the decade from

[15] *Aguardente*, or *cachaça* (cheap rum), sugar, and manioc meal were also extensively used for trading purposes, as similarly were cowries (*búzios*) from the coast south of Bahia.

[16] Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

[17] Amadeu Francisco Frézier, *Relation d'un voyage à la mer du sud* (Paris, 1716); cf. Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 185. The demand for slave labor in the gold fields of Minas Geraes so stimulated importations that La Barbinais, visiting Bahia in 1717, estimated that in that year 25,000 Africans were landed at Bahia. See Affonso de E. Taunay, *Na Bahia colonial* (Rio, 1925), p. 364.

[18] "It was principally to Bahia .... that the unfortunate sons of Lybia were brought, and it is for this reason that the natives of Guinea give the name of Bahia to Brazil, to America, and even to Europe" (Onesime Reclus, quoted by Manoel Querino, "A raça africana e os seus costumes na Bahia," *Annaes do quinto congresso brasileiro de geographia* [Rio, 1916], p. 626).

[19] Calmon, *op. cit.*, pp. 180–81. See letter of Silva Lisboa, *Annaes da Bibliotéca Nacional*, XXXII, 504. From September 29, 1771, to September 22, 1772, nine slave ships with 2,307 Negroes entered the port of Bahia. One ship, "Nossa Senhora do Rosario," carrying 371 Africans "and two babies at the breast" had not had a single death on the voyage. Another vessel, "Nossa Senhora da Conceição da Ponte," sailing from the Mina coast with a call at São Thomé, landed 13 without casualty, July 11, 1772. But other ships lost, respectively, 111 out of 374, 17 out of 468, 17 out of 158, 29 out of 233, 11 out of 308, 44 out of 327, 20 out of 303—a total loss of 249 out of 2,554 leaving the African coast (from custom-house records; see Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 458).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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One must not overlook the fact, however, that during the first years of colonization the letters of the Jesuits contained numerous references to Indian slaves who were "tortured and branded in the face."[54] And later, the kings of Portugal, impressed by reports which had come to them concerning hardships inflicted on Negro slaves in Brazil, more than once wrote to their colonial representatives, exhorting them "to put a stop to such crying inhumanities."[55]

Most reports of cruelties, however, date from the abolition campaign and no doubt reflect the agitation and fervor of that movement. Thus, the able Bahian abolitionist, Anselmo da Fonseca, reports the case of a Negro in Rio Grande do Sul whose wrists were tied above his head and, after honey had been poured over his nude body, was left to the insects. Anselmo further reports the raping of small children, the use of stocks, the fracturing of teeth with a ham-

from the effects of their wounds (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 145). Fonseca estimates that two-thirds of all the *feitores* (overseers), *capitães de matto*, and *corretores* (slave dealers) in Bahia were either mulattoes or blacks (*ibid.*, p. 151).

[54] Brazilian Indians, who before the coming of the Portuguese had killed their prisoners of war, changed this custom when it was discovered that they could sell their captives to the Europeans. Subsequently the latter organized raids into the interior in search of Indian slaves. The Jesuits fought this traffic, their struggles with the colonists lending a dramatic note to accounts of life in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Gradually their influence at the Portuguese court prevailed, certain restrictions were by royal decree put upon the enslavement of Indians, which, being disregarded by the colonists, led to further Jesuit protest and finally, in 1755, to a royal edict liberating all Indian slaves. Equal legal rights were subsequently granted the Indians, the University of Coimbra was opened to them, and they were even admitted, it is said, to the nobility.

[55] A writer cites three "royal letters" in support, dated, respectively, March 20, 1688, March 1, 1700, and April 27, 1719 (see the anonymous article entitled "Tradições bahianas," *Revista do Instituto Geographico e Historico da Bahia*, LVI [1930], 514).

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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184 This division in cultural identification, however, is not always sharply defined. Adherence to African cultural forms, for instance, the *candomblé*, often varies not only from family to family but also from individual to individual in the same family group; and, occasionally, in the same individual with reference to different cultural elements, to different periods in his life, and even to varying moods in his experience. In other words, African cultural forms at Bahia are disintegrating at a comparatively rapid rate.

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177 Nor should one assume that the body of customs and traditions which marks off to some extent this lower-class world is entirely of African origin. While it undoubtedly is composed in considerable part of elements originating in Africa, certain native Indian customs and traditions, together with ideas and practices common to the lower classes of Europe, as well as other customary behavior which has arisen in response to the circumstances of life in Brazil, contribute to it. The disentanglement of these diverse strands is, in some instances, a difficult and exceedingly laborious task.

It should be emphasized that these distinctions follow cultural and not necessarily racial lines. The lower class, as we have seen, includes a number of Europeans, and these have in numerous cases taken over sentiments and attitudes of African origin. Moreover, as the blacks and the mixed-bloods rise in class, they tend to slough off all identification with Africa and with African cultural forms.

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175 Bahian Negroes long maintained direct contact with the West Coast. Even after the extinction of the slave traffic, vessels regularly plied between Bahia and Lagos, repatriating nostalgic emancipated Negroes and returning with West

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Coast products much prized by Africans and their descendants in Brazil.[1] An elderly Bahian Negro recently brought out from among his treasured possessions a faded photograph of blacks aboard a ship on their way to Africa and pointed out an *atabaque*, or sacred drum, and a woman in *saia grande*.[2] He recalls having been many times with his father at the docks in Bahia when vessels came in from Africa and sailors brought news of Lagos.

Trade with the West Coast, however, gradually decreased until, by 1905, it had almost entirely disappeared. Today, only a few important articles employed in the fetish ritual, such as cowries, *obis* and *orobôs* (sacred fruits), *pimenta* (pepper) *da costa*, *palha* (straw) *da costa*, *sabão* (soap) *da costa*, and strips of *pano* (cloth) *da costa*, are occasionally imported from Africa.

Numerous Africans, their interest in Brazil stirred by Brazilian Negroes returning to the West Coast, are said to have emigrated to Bahia as recently as thirty years ago. Considerable areas in and about the city—for example, Caminho do São Gonçalo, Caminho do Cruz, and a portion of the Terreiro—were once owned, it is said, by *Africanos*.

Today, native-born Africans as a population element are

[1] Pedro Calmon, *Historia social do Brasil* (3 vols.; São Paulo, 1937-39), I, 182. It is also reported that on at least two occasions representatives of African chiefs arrived in Bahia from Ajudá, with which port Bahian officials were maintaining direct commercial relations. One arrived during the administration of the Vice-rei Conde de Athouguia; two others "and an interpreter," on May 26, 1795. See João Varella, *Da Bahia que eu vi* (Bahia, 1935), pp. 153-57; J. B. de Sá e Oliveira, "Dois embaixadores africanos mandados a Bahia pelo Rei do Dahomé," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, LVI, Part I (1895), 413.

[2] The large skirt still worn *bouffant* by many Bahian black women. The date was approximately 1895.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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My *pae de santo* made an *ebó* for me last week. It is a *limpeza do corpo* ["cleansing of the body"]. I had an unclean body and dragged myself around, listless. I went to the "master" of the *candomblé* and he "opened the table" and looked to see if my body was unclean. He then asked me to bring toasted maize, a black cloth, popcorn, honey, and a candle. He passed them all over me,[38] and when he had finished, he took them and left them in a crossroads. Friday is the day for this.

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Now if a person puts a *bruxaria*[39] in your doorway, with a doll stuck through with pins, that is of the *feiticeiro* and it is different from a "cleansing of the body." My *pae de santo* does not make *feitiço*. He says that he does not care to do harm to people, because he has a soul for which he is responsible to God. But any *pae de santo* who wishes to bring harm upon someone can do so. For example, if I arrive in his *casa* and say that I want to do something to someone he asks me: "What do you want to do to her?" I say that when she comes to my door I want her to go blind. He will "make a business" and the next day she will come to my door and go blind. Or else I say that I want her to be wounded by a knife. He arranges it so that this happens.[40]

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"Opening the table" is a thing done with *buzios*. The *pae de santo* puts an *orixá* on top of the table, together with his little towel.[41] He takes up the *buzios* and sees if "the way is open." My *pae de santo* "opens the table" with beads.[42] He takes the beads and puts them alongside *palha* from the *pindoba*.[43] These beads come from the Coast.[44] His set cost 1:000$000.[45]

[38] That is, in front, to side, behind, above the head, etc.

[39] Any instrument of black magic.

[40] That is, she will be attacked in a lonely place by robbers, or accidentally stabbed. The action is always mediate.

[41] The table-covering which is placed over the *orixá* in the *pegi*, or sanctuary.

[42] Other means employed: a glass of water, a set of playing cards.

[43] Fronds from a variety of the coconut palm.

[44] That is, from the West Coast of Africa.

[45] One thousand milreis, or one conto, equivalent at that time to approximately $60.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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APPENDIX C

THE BOMFIM FESTIVAL

Certain popular festivals, like the Sabado and Segunda Feira do Bomfim, are largely taken over and even dominated by the lower classes. Individuals from the upper circles, both white and colored, attend only in their automobiles, driving slowly back and forth along the principal streets and through the crowds, or watch the festivities from the windows and doorways of near-by houses. In the words of a local citizen, the festival of Bomfim "springs from the people themselves, who regard O Senhor do Bomfim as their patron saint. It belongs to them more than Carnival does; Carnival is more refined (*mais elevado*), more under the control of the educated, 'cultured' Bahians."

Preceded by exclusively religious ceremonies, the celebration begins on the third Saturday in January and continues through the following Sunday and Monday. A large part of the population attends. Formerly, it is said, all business houses closed for the festival, and a few still do, while others take only a half-holiday on Monday. The celebration opens at the Church of Bomfim, which crowns a gently sloping hill on the peninsula of Itapagipe which juts out into Todos os Santos Bay to the north of the port. Black women in *bahiana* costume sit around the edges of the crowd selling such wares as *cocada*,[1] cakes, and other confections, mangoes, peanuts, *umbús*, and *cajús*.[2] In the *adro*, or open space, in

[1] *Cocada* is a confection made of coconut and sugar.

[2] *Cajús* are the fruit of the cashew tree. *Umbús* are a green, smooth-skinned fruit, about the size of a small lime.

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175 •439 167 829 609 Given the isolation in which Brazil remained at least until 1808, the moment when for the first time its ports were opened to international commerce, given too the fact that Bahia was never a center of massive European immigration, like certain southern states, the foreigner is received by the people of Bahia with a mixture of curiosity and distrust. At the same time, *563 the emigrant is easily absorbed here by the milieu and likewise adapts himself to the customs and norms of local life. The 829 Portuguese emigrants, for example, are put in a special category: *563 one has the habit of saying that not one of them is ever, properly speaking Brazilian, but that he is never, properly speaking, a foreigner either. In spite of the two world wars, one nowhere notes manifestations of antipathy with regard to German, Austrian, or Italian emigrants. The nationals of these nations have, in general, an excellent reputation because they are considered good workers, because they marry Brazilians and remain in the country when their businesses prosper. The vast majority of the population and even the persons who are hostile to the "Russian" merchants never have anti-Semitic sentiments. When, however, a Jewish group publicly protested against the presentation of a European musician accused of having had ties with Hitlerism in the past, the association that organizes concerts of famous musicians rejected "this attempt at outside interference dictated by /18/ racial prejudice," declaring that its activities ought to remain "above all religious, philosophical, political, racial, or class prejudice." And yet numerous Israelites are members of this association.

[443 [178 The "Arabs," although living quite isolated in accordance with their customs, marry Brazilians, and no hostility is ever manifested with regard to them; at the time when some of them were carrying on the trade of itinerant vendors of fabrics and hardware, they were ridiculed somewhat, it is true, but that stopped with the disappearance of the last peddlers.

[SALVADOR]

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829 458 439 175 This author here alludes to the disturbances that the economy of Bahia underwent from the time of the suppression of the slave traffic and Europe's adoption of beet sugar, which brought about the almost total stoppage of the importation of sugar cane, the basis of the wealth of our city.

829 *563 As for the mulattoes, while some declare that there is not "a chapter of our political or social history in which the remarkable personality of a métis does not glitter with particular brilliance," others, along with some praise, make strong reservations. A jurist and scholar of great repute (2)

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2. Almachio Diniz, Historia racial do Brasil, São Paulo, 1934, p. 155.

considered the description of the mulatto given by an author of [157] Bahia excellent: "The mulattoes are in general vain, intelligent, and inclined toward the pleasures of life in society... They have good hearts" (3).

3. Sa Oliveira, op. cit., p. 21.

Although many people consider the Black an inferior being with regard to intelligence, almost no one questions the talent and the intellectual possibilities of the mulattoes. "If," says another economist from Bahia, "we turn toward the intellectual qualities and characteristic morals of the modern civilized man, the classic exponent of which is the European: universality of spiritual horizon, logical and systematic mind, technical gifts, tenacity and energy in the struggle for individual or social rights, and if we consider our most representative men, that is /27/ to say, our strongest personalities, we see among them many Blacks and mulattoes." And he concludes by asserting that the Afro-Brazilians are by no means inferior to the descendants of immigrants who came from more highly civilized and more purely